DIALOGUES

OF THE

DEAD.

DIALOGUE I.

PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRICANUS. CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR.

SCIPIO.

ALAS Cæſar! how unhappily did you end a Life made illuſtrious by the greateſt exploits in War, and moſt various Civil Talents!

CÆSAR.

Can Scipio wonder at the Ingratitude of Rome to her Generals? Did not he reproach her with it in the Epitaph he ordered to be inſcribed upon his Tomb at Liternum, that mean village in Campa-

nia, to which ſhe had driven the Conqueror of Hannibal and of Carthage? I alſo, after ſubduing her moſt dangerous Enemies, the Helvetians, the Gauls, and the Germans, after raiſing her name to the higheſt pitch of Glory, ſhould have been deprived of my Province, reduced to live as a private man, under the power of my Enemies and the Enviers of my Greatneſs; nay, brought to a Trial, and condemned by the Judgment of a Faction, if I had not led my victorious Troops to Rome, and by their aſſiſtance, after all my Offers of Peace had been iniquitouſly rejected, made myſelf maſter of a State, which knew ſo ill how to recompence ſuperior Merit. Reſentment of this, together with the ſecret Machinations of Envy, produced not long afterwards a Conſpiracy of Senators, and even of ſome whom I had moſt obliged and loved, againſt my Life, which they baſely took away by Aſſaſſination.

SCIPIO.

You ſay you led your victorious Troops to Rome — How were they *your* Troops? I thought

I thought the Roman Armies had belonged to the Republic, not to their Generals.

CÆSAR.

They did ſo in your time. But before I came to command them, Marius and Sylla had taught them, that they belonged to their Generals. And I taught the Senate, that a veteran Army, affectionately attached to it's Leader, could give him all the Treaſures and Honours of the State without aſking their Leave.

SCIPIO.

Juſt Gods! did I then deliver my Country from the invading Carthaginian, did I exalt it by my Victories above all other Nations, that it might become a richer prey to it's own rebel ſoldiers, and their ambitious Commanders?

CÆSAR.

How could it be otherwiſe? Was it poſſible that the Conquerors of Europe, Aſia, and Africk, could tamely ſubmit to deſcend from their triumphal Chariots,

and become ſubject to the Authority of Prætors and Conſuls elected by a Populace corrupted by Bribes, or enſlaved to a confederacy of factious Nobles, who, without Regard to Merit, conſidered all the Offices and Dignities of the State as hereditary Poſſeſſions belonging to their Families?

SCIPIO.

If I thought it no diſhonour, after triumphing over Hannibal, to lay down my Faſces, and obey, as all my Anceſtors had done before me, the Magiſtrates of the Republic, ſuch a conduct would not have diſhonoured either Marius, or Sylla, or Cæſar. But you all diſhonoured yourſelves, when, inſtead of virtuous Romans, ſuperior to your Fellow-Citizens in Merit and Glory, but equal to them in a due ſubjection to the Laws, you became the Enemies, the Invaders, and the Tyrants of your Country.

CÆSAR.

Was I the *Enemy* of my Country in giving it a Ruler fit to ſupport all the Majeſty and Weight of it's Empire? Did

I *invade*

I *invade* it, when I marched to deliver the People from the uſurped Dominion and Inſolence of a few Senators? Was I a *Tyrant*, becauſe I would not crouch under Pompey, and let him be thought my *Superior*, when I felt he was not my *Equal?*

SCIPIO.

Pompey had given you a noble Example of Moderation, in twice diſmiſſing the Armies, at the head of which he had performed ſuch illuſtrious Actions, and returning, a private citizen, into the boſom of his Country.

CÆSAR.

His Moderation was a Cheat. He believed that the Authority his Victories had gained him would make him effectually maſter of the Commonwealth, without the help of thoſe Armies. But finding it difficult to ſubdue the united Oppoſition of Craſſus and me, he leagued himſelf with us; and, in conſequence of that League, we three governed the Empire. But, after the death of Craſſus, my glorious Atchievements in ſubduing the Gauls

raiſed ſuth a Jealouſy in him, that he could no longer endure me as a Partner in his Power, nor could I ſubmit to degrade myſelf into his Subject.

SCIPIO.

Am I then to underſtand, that the Civil War you engaged in was really a mere Conteſt, whether you or Pompey ſhould remain *ſole Lord of Rome?*

CÆSAR.

See Plutarch & Suetonius in Vit. Cæſaris. Cæſar Comment. de Bello Civili. l. 1.

Not ſo — for I offered, in my letters to the Senate, to lay down my Arms, if Pompey at the ſame time would lay down his, and leave the Republic in Freedom. Nor did I reſolve to draw the ſword, till not only the Senate, overpowered by the fear of Pompey and his Troops, had rejected theſe offers, but two Tribunes of the People, for legally and juſtly interpoſing their Authority in my behalf, had been forced to fly from Rome, diſguiſed in the habit of ſlaves, and take refuge in my Camp, for the ſafety of their perſons. My Camp was therefore the Aſylum of

perſecuted

perſecuted Liberty; and my Army fought to avenge the Violation of the Rights and Majeſty of the People, as much as to defend the Dignity of their General unjuſtly oppreſſed.

SCIPIO.

You would therefore have me think, that you contended for the Equality and Liberty of the Romans againſt the Tyranny of Pompey and his lawleſs Adherents. In ſuch a War I myſelf, if I had lived in your times, would have willingly been your Lieutenant. Tell me then, on the iſſue of this honourable enterprize, when you had ſubdued all your Foes, and had no Oppoſition remaining to obſtruct your intentions, did you eſtabliſh that Liberty for which you fought? Did you reſtore the Republic to what it was in my time?

CÆSAR.

I took the neceſſary Meaſures to ſecure to myſelf the fruits of my Victories, and gave a Head to the Empire, which could neither ſubſiſt without one, nor find

another

another ſo well ſuited to the Greatneſs of the Body.

SCIPIO.

There the true Character of Cæſar was ſeen unmaſked — You had managed ſo ſkilfully in the Meaſures which preceded the Civil War, your Offers were ſo ſpecious, and there appeared ſo much Violence in the conduct of your Enemies, that, if you had fallen in that War, Poſterity might have doubted, whether you were not a Victim to the Intereſts of your Country: But your Succeſs, and the Deſpotiſm you afterwards exerciſed, took off thoſe diſguiſes, and ſhewed clearly, that the aim of all your Actions was Tyranny.

CÆSAR.

Let us not deceive ourſelves with *Sounds* and *Names* — That great Minds ſhould aſpire to ſovereign Power is a fixed Law of Nature. It is an injury to Mankind, if the higheſt Abilities are not placed in the higheſt Stations. Had you, Scipio, been kept down by the Republican Jealouſy of Cato the Cenſor, Hannibal would have never been recalled out of Italy, nor defeated in Africk. And if I had not been

been treacherouſly murdered by the daggers of Brutus and Caſſius, my Sword would have avenged the Defeat of Craſſus, and added the Empire of Parthia to that of Rome. Nor was my Government tyrannical. It was mild, humane, and bounteous. The World would have been happy under it, and wiſhed it's continuance: but my death broke the Pillars of the public Tranquillity, and brought upon the whole Empire a direful Scene of Calamity and Confuſion.

SCIPIO.

You ſay that Great Minds will naturally aſpire to Sovereign Power. But, if they are *good*, as well as *great*, they will regulate their Ambition by the Laws of their Country. The Laws of Rome permitted me to aſpire to the conduct of the War againſt Carthage; but they did not permit you to turn her arms againſt herſelf, and ſubject her to your Will. The Breach of one Law of Liberty is a greater Evil to a Nation than the loſs of a Province; and, in my opinion, the Conqueſt of the whole World would not be enough to compenſate for the total Loſs of their Freedom.

CÆSAR.

CÆSAR.

You talk finely, Africanus—but aſk yourſelf, whether the Height and Dignity of your Mind, that noble Pride which accompanies the Magnanimity of a Hero, could always ſtoop to a nice Conformity with the Laws of your Country? Is there a Law of Liberty more eſſential, more ſacred than that, which obliges every member of a free Community to ſubmit himſelf to a Trial, upon a legal Charge brought againſt him for a Public Miſdemeanour? In what manner did you anſwer a regular Accuſation from a Tribune of the People, who charged you with embezzling the Money of the State? You told your Judges, that *on that day you had vanquiſhed Hannibal and Carthage*, and bade them *follow you to the Temples to give Thanks to the Gods*. Nor could you ever be brought to ſtand a legal Tryal, or juſtify thoſe accounts, which you had torn in the Senate, when they were queſtioned there by two Magiſtrates in the name of the Roman People. Was this acting like the Subject of a free State? Had your Victory procured

cured you an Exemption from Juſtice? Had it given into your hands the Money of the Republic without account? If it had, you were *King of Rome*. Pharſalia, Thapſus, and Munda, could do no more for me.

SCIPIO.

I did not queſtion the Right of bringing me to a Trial, but I diſdained to plead in vindication of a character ſo unſpotted as mine. My whole Life had been an anſwer to that infamous Charge.

CÆSAR.

It may be ſo: and, for my part, I admire the Magnanimity of your behaviour. But I ſhould condemn it as repugnant and deſtructive to Liberty, if I did not pay more reſpect to the Dignity of a great General, than to the Forms of a Democracy, or the Rights of a Tribune.

SCIPIO.

You are endeavouring to confound my Cauſe with your's; but they are exceedingly.

Suetonius in Cæſare.

ingly different. You apprehended a Sentence of Condemnation againſt you for ſome part of your Conduct, and, to prevent it, made an impious War on your Country, and reduced her to Servitude. I truſted the Juſtification of my affronted Innocence to the opinion of my Judges, ſcorning to plead for myſelf againſt a charge unſupported by any other Proof than bare Suſpicions and Surmiſes. But I made no Reſiſtance: I kindled no Civil War: I left Rome undiſturbed in the Enjoyment of her Liberty. Had the malice of my Accuſers been ever ſo violent, had it threatened my Deſtruction, I ſhould have choſen much rather to turn my Sword againſt my own Boſom, than againſt that of my Country.

CÆSAR.

See Plutarch. Life of Cæſar.

You beg the Queſtion in ſuppoſing that I really hurt my Country by giving her a Maſter. When Cato adviſed the Senate to make Pompey *ſole Conſul*, he did it upon this Principle, *that any kind of Government is preferable to Anarchy.*

The Truth of this, I preſume, no man of ſenſe will conteſt; and the Anarchy, which that zealous Defender of Liberty ſo much apprehended, would have continued in Rome, if that Power, which the urgent Neceſſity of the State conferred upon me, had not removed it.

SCIPIO.

Pompey and you had brought that Anarchy on the State, in order to ſerve your own ends. It was owing to the Corruption, the Factions, and the Violence, which you had encouraged, from an opinion that the Senate would be forced to ſubmit to an Abſolute Power in your hands, as a remedy againſt thoſe intolerable Evils. But Cato judged well in thinking it eligible to make Pompey *ſole Conſul* rather than you *Dictator*; becauſe Experience had ſhewn, that Pompey reſpected the Forms of the Roman Conſtitution, and, though he ſought, by bad means as well as good, to obtain the higheſt Magiſtracies, and the moſt honourable Commands, yet he laid them down again, and contented himſelf with remaining

remaining ſuperior in Credit to any other Citizen.

CÆSAR.

If all the Difference between my Ambition and Pompey's was only, as you repreſent it, in a greater or leſs reſpect for *the Forms of the Conſtitution*, I think it was hardly becoming ſuch a Patriot as Cato to take part in our Quarrel, much leſs to kill himſelf rather than yield to my Power.

SCIPIO.

It is eaſier to revive *the Spirit of Liberty* in a Government where the *Forms* of it remain unchanged, than where they have been totally diſregarded and aboliſhed. But I readily own, that the Ballance of the Roman Conſtitution had been deſtroyed by the exceſſive and illegal Authority, which the People were induced to confer upon Pompey, before any extraordinary Honours or Commands had been demanded by you. And That is, I think, your beſt Excuſe.

CÆSAR.

Yes ſurely—The Favourers of the *Manilian Law* had an ill Grace in deſiring to limit the Commiſſions I obtained from the People, according to the Rigour of certain abſolute Republican Laws, no more regarded in my time than the Sybilline Oracles, or the pious Inſtitutions of Numa.

SCIPIO.

It was the Misfortune of your time that they were not regarded. A virtuous Man would not take from a deluded People ſuch Favours as they ought not to beſtow. I have a Right to ſay this, becauſe I chid the Roman People, when, overheated by Gratitude for the Services I had done them, they deſired to make me *Perpetual Conſul* and *Dictator*. Hear this, and bluſh.—What I refuſed to accept, you ſnatched by Force.

Livius l. 88. Sect. 56.

CÆSAR.

Tiberius Gracchus reproached you with the Inconſiſtency of your Conduct, when, after refuſing theſe Offers, you ſo little

reſpected the Tribunitian Authority. But thus it muſt happen. We are naturally fond of the Idea of Liberty till we come to ſuffer by it, or find it an Impediment to ſome predominant Paſſion; and then we wiſh to controul it, as you did moſt deſpotically, by refuſing to ſubmit to the Juſtice of the State,

SCIPIO.

I have anſwered before to that Charge. Tiberius Gracchus himſelf, though my perſonal Enemy, thought it became him to ſtop the Proceedings againſt me; not for my ſake, but for the Honour of my Country, whoſe Dignity ſuffered with mine. Nevertheleſs I acknowledge, my conduct in that Buſineſs was not abſolutely blameleſs. The generous Pride of Virtue was too ſtrong in my Mind. It made me forget I was creating a dangerous Precedent in declining to plead to a legal Accuſation, brought againſt me by a Magiſtrate inveſted with the Majeſty of the whole Roman People. It made me unjuſtly accuſe my Country of Ingratitude, when ſhe had ſhewn herſelf grateful, even beyond

yond the true bounds of Policy and Juſtice, by not inflicting upon me any Penalty for ſo irregular a Proceeding. But, at the ſame time, what a Proof did I give of Moderation, and Reſpect for her Liberty, when my utmoſt Reſentment could impell me to nothing more violent than a voluntary Retreat, and quiet Baniſhment of myſelf from the City of Rome! Scipio Africanus offended, and living a private Man, in a Country-Houſe at Liternum, was an Example of more Uſe to ſecure the Equality of the Roman Commonwealth, than all the Power of it's Tribunes.

CÆSAR.

I had rather have been thrown down the Tarpeian Rock, than have retired, as you did, to the obſcurity of a Village, after acting the firſt Part on the greateſt Theatre of the World.

SCIPIO.

An Uſurper exalted on the higheſt Throne of the Univerſe is not ſo glorious as I was in that obſcure Retirement. I

I hear indeed, that you, Cæſar, have been *deified* by the Flattery of ſome of your Succeſſors. But the impartial Judgment of Hiſtory has conſecrated my name, and ranks me in the firſt Claſs of Heroes and Patriots: whereas the higheſt Praiſe her Records, even under the Dominion uſurped by your Family, have given to you, is, that your Courage and Talents were equal to the object your Ambition aſpired to, the Empire of the World; and that you exerciſed a Sovereignty unjuſtly acquired with a magnanimous Clemency. But it would have been better for your Country, and better for Mankind, if you had never exiſted.

DIALOGUE II.

PLATO—DIOGENES.

DIOGENES.

PLATO, ſtand off—A true Philoſopher as I was, is no company for a Courtier of the Tyrant of Syracuſe. I would avoid you, as one infected with the moſt noiſome of Plagues, the Plague of Slavery.

PLATO.

He, who can miſtake a brutal Pride and ſavage Indecency of Manners for Freedom, may naturally think that the being in a Court (however virtuous one's conduct, however free one's language there) is Slavery. But I was taught by

my great Maſter, the incomparable Socrates, that the Buſineſs of true Philoſophy is to conſult and promote the Happineſs of Society. She muſt not therefore be confined to a *Tub* or a *Cell*. Her ſphere is in Senates, or the Cabinets of Kings. While your ſect is employed in ſnarling at the Great, or buffooning with the Vulgar, She is counſelling thoſe who govern Nations, infuſing into their minds Humanity, Juſtice, Temperance, and the Love of true Glory, reſiſting their Paſſions, when they tranſport them beyond the bounds of Virtue, and fortifying their Reaſon by the Antidotes She adminiſters againſt the Poiſon of Flattery.

DIOGENES.

You mean to have me underſtand, that you went to the Court of the Younger Dionyſius, to give him Antidotes againſt the Poiſon of Flattery. But I ſay he ſent for you only to ſweeten the Cup, by mixing it more agreeably, and rendering the Flavour more delicate. His Vanity was too nice for the nauſeous common Draught; but your ſeaſoning gave it a Reliſh, which

made it go down moſt delightfully, and intoxicated him more than ever. Oh! there is no Flatterer half ſo dangerous to a Prince as a fawning Philoſopher!

PLATO.

If you call it fawning, that I did not treat him with ſuch unmannerly Rudeneſs as you did Alexander the Great, when he viſited you at Athens, I have nothing to ſay. But, in truth, I made my company agreeable to him, not for any mean Ends which regarded only myſelf, but that I might be uſeful both to him and to his People. I endeavoured to give a right turn to his Vanity; and know, Diogenes, that whoever will ſerve Mankind, but more eſpecially Princes, muſt compound with their Weakneſſes, and take as much pains to gain them over to Virtue, by an honeſt and prudent Complaiſance, as others do to ſeduce them from it, by a criminal Adulation.

DIOGENES.

A little of my Sagacity would have ſhewn you, that, if this was your Pur-

poſe, your Labour was loſt in that Court. Why did not you go and preach Chaſtity to Lais? A Philoſopher in a Brothel, reading lectures on the Beauty of Continence and Decency, is not a more ridiculous Animal, than a Philoſopher in the Cabinet, or at the Table of a Tyrant, deſcanting on Liberty and Public Spirit! What effect had the Leſſons of your famous Diſciple Ariſtotle upon Alexander the Great, a Prince far more capable of receiving Inſtruction than the Younger Dionyſius? Did they hinder him from killing his beſt Friend, Clitus, for ſpeaking to him with Freedom, or from fancying himſelf a God, becauſe he was adored by the wretched Slaves he had vanquiſhed? When I deſired him *not to ſtand between me and the Sun*, I humbled his Pride more, and conſequently did him more Good, than Ariſtotle had done by all his formal Precepts.

PLATO.

Yet he owed to thoſe Precepts, that, notwithſtanding his Exceſſes, he appeared not unworthy of the Empire of the World.

Had the Tutor of his Youth gone with him into Aſia, and continued always at his Ear, the Authority of that Wife and Virtuous Man might have been able to ſtop him, even in the Riot of Conqueſt, from giving way to thoſe Paſſions which diſhonoured his Character.

DIOGENES.

If he had gone into Aſia, and had not flattered the King as obſequiouſly as Hæpheſtion, he would, like Calliſthenes, whom he ſent thither as his Deputy, have been put to death for High Treaſon. The Man who will not flatter, muſt live independent, as I did, and prefer a Tub to a Palace.

PLATO.

Do you pretend, Diogenes, that, becauſe you were never in a Court, you never flattered? How did you gain the affection of the People of Athens, but by ſoothing their ruling Paſſion, the deſire of hearing their Superiors abuſed? Your Cynic Railing was to Them the moſt acceptable Flattery. This you well

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underſtood, and made your court to the Vulgar, always envious and malignant, by trying to lower all Dignity and confound all Order: You made your Court, I ſay, as ſervilely, and with as much Offence to Virtue, as the baſeſt Flatterer ever did to the moſt corrupted Prince. But true Philoſophy will diſdain to act either of theſe Parts. Neither in the Aſſemblies of the People, nor in the Cabinets of Kings, will ſhe obtain Favour by fomenting any bad Diſpoſitions. If her endeavours to do good prove unſucceſsful, ſhe will retire with Honour, as an honeſt Phyſician departs from the Houſe of a Patient, whoſe Diſtemper he finds incurable, or who refuſes to take the Remedies he preſcribes. But if ſhe ſucceeds; if, like the Muſic of Orpheus, her ſweet Perſuaſions can mitigate the Ferocity of the Multitude, and tame their minds to a due Obedience of Laws and Reverence of Magiſtrates; or if ſhe can form a Timoleon, or a Numa Pompilius, to the Government of a State, how meritorious is the Work! One King, nay one Miniſter, or Counſellor of State, imbued with her

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Precepts, is of more value than all the ſpeculative, retired Philoſophers, or Cynical Revilers of Princes and Magiſtrates, that ever lived upon Earth.

DIOGENES.

Don't tell me of the Muſic of Orpheus, and of his taming wild Beaſts. A wild Beaſt brought to *crouch* and *lick the Hand of a Maſter*, is a much viler Animal than he was in his natural State of Ferocity. You ſeem to think, that the Buſineſs of Philoſophy is *to poliſh Men into Slaves*; but I ſay, it is to teach them to aſſert, with an untamed and generous Spirit, their Independance and Freedom. You profeſs to inſtruct thoſe who want to *ride* their Fellow-creatures, how to do it with an eaſy and gentle Rein; but I would have them thrown off, and trampled under the feet of all their deluded or inſulted Equals, on whoſe backs they have mounted. Which of us two is the trueſt Friend to Mankind?

PLATO.

According to your Notions all Government is deſtructive to Liberty; but I

think that no Liberty can ſubſiſt without Government. A State of Society is the *natural* State of Mankind. They are impelled to it by their Wants, their Infirmities, their Affections. The Laws of Society are Rules of Life and Action neceſſary to ſecure their Happineſs in that State. Government is the due enforcing of thoſe Laws. That Government is the beſt which does this moſt effectually, and moſt equally; and that People is the freeſt, which is moſt ſubmiſſively obedient to ſuch a Government.

DIOGENES.

Shew me the Government which makes no other Uſe of it's Power than duly to enforce the Laws of Society, and I will own it is intitled to the moſt abſolute Submiſſion from all it's Subjects.

PLATO.

I cannot ſhew you Perfection in Human Inſtitutions. It is far more eaſy to blame them than it is to amend them: Much may be wrong in the beſt: but a

good

good Man reſpects the Laws and the Magiſtrates of his Country.

DIOGENES.

As for the Laws of my Country, I did ſo far reſpect them, as not to philoſophiſe to the prejudice of the firſt and greateſt Principle of Nature and of Wiſdom, Self-Preſervation. Though I loved to prate about High Matters as well as Socrates, I did not chuſe to drink Hemlock after his Example. But you might as well have bid me *love* an ugly Woman, becauſe ſhe was dreſt up in the Gown of Lais, as *reſpect* a Fool or a Knave, becauſe he was attired in the Robe of a Magiſtrate.

PLATO.

All I deſired of you was, not to amuſe yourſelf and the Populace by throwing Dirt upon the Robe of a Magiſtrate, merely becauſe he wore that Robe, and you did not.

DIOGENES.

A Philoſopher cannot better diſplay his Wiſdom than by throwing Contempt on that

that Pageantry, which the ignorant Multitude gaze at with a ſenſeleſs Veneration.

PLATO.

He who tries to make the Multitude *venerate Nothing* is more ſenſeleſs than they. Wiſe Men have endeavoured to excite an awful Reverence in the Minds of the Vulgar for external Ceremonies and Forms, in order to ſecure their Obedience to Religion and Government, of which theſe are the Symbols. Can *a Philoſopher* deſire to defeat that good Purpoſe?

DIOGENES.

Yes, if he ſees it abuſed to ſupport the evil Purpoſes of Superſtition and Tyranny.

PLATO.

May not the Abuſe be corrected without loſing the Benefit? Is there no difference between *Reformation* and *Deſtruction*.

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DIOGENES.

Half-Meaſures do nothing. He who deſires to *reform* muſt not be afraid *to pull down.*

PLATO.

I know that you and your Sect *are for pulling down every thing that is above your own Level.* Pride and Envy are the Motives that ſet you all to Work. Nor can one wonder that Paſſions, the Influence of which is ſo general, ſhould give you many Diſciples and many Admirers.

DIOGENES.

When you have eſtabliſhed *your Republic*, if you will admit me into it, I promiſe you to be *there* a moſt *reſpectful* Subject.

PLATO.

I am conſcious, Diogenes, that *my Republic* was imaginary, and could never be eſtabliſhed. But they ſhew as little knowledge of what is practicable in Politicks, as I did in that Book, who ſuppoſe that the Liberty of any Civil Society

can

can be maintained by the Deſtruction of Order and Decency, or promoted by the Petulance of unbridled Defamation.

DIOGENES.

I never knew any Government angry at Defamation, when it fell on thoſe who diſliked or obſtructed it's Meaſures. But I well remember, that the Thirty Tyrants at Athens called Oppoſition to Them *the Deſtruction of Order and Decency*.

PLATO.

Things are not altered by Names.

DIOGENES.

No—but Names have a ſtrange Power to impoſe on weak Underſtandings. If, when you were in Egypt, you had laughed at the Worſhip of an Onion, the Prieſts would have called you an Atheiſt, and the People would have ſtoned you. But I preſume, that, to have the Honour of being initiated into the Myſteries of that reverend Hierarchy, you bowed as low to it as any of their devout Diſciples.

ciples. Unfortunately my Neck was not ſo pliant, and therefore I was never initiated into the Myſteries either of Religion or Government, but was feared or hated by all who thought it their Intereſt to make them be reſpected.

PLATO.

Your Vanity found it's account in that Fear and that Hatred. The High Prieſt of a Deity, or the Ruler of a State, is much leſs diſtinguiſhed from the Vulgar Herd of Mankind, than the Scoffer at all Religion, and the Deſpiſer of all Dominion. —But let us end our Diſpute. I feel my Folly in continuing to argue with one, who in reaſoning does not ſeek to come at Truth, but merely to ſhew his Wit. Adieu, Diogenes; I am going to converſe with the Shades of Pythagoras, Solon, and Bias. — You may jeſt with Ariſtophanes, or rail with Therſites.

DIALOGUE III.

ARISTIDES — PHOCION — DEMOSTHENES.

ARISTIDES.

HOW could it happen, that Athens, after having recovered an Equality with Sparta, ſhould be forced to ſubmit to the dominion of Macedon, when ſhe had two ſuch great men as Phocion and Demoſthenes at the head of her State?

PHOCION.

It happened becauſe our Opinions of her Intereſts in foreign Affairs were totally different; which made us act with a

onſtant and pernicious oppoſition, the ne to the other.

ARISTIDES.

I wiſh to hear from you both (if you ill indulge my Curioſity) on what Prin-iples you could form ſuch contrary judg-ents concerning Points of ſuch moment the ſafety of your Country, which ou equally loved.

DEMOSTHENES.

My Principles were the ſame with our's, Ariſtides. I laboured to maintain e Independence of Athens againſt the croaching Ambition of Macedon, as you ad maintained it againſt that of Perſia. ſaw that our own Strength was unequal the enterprize: but what we could ot do alone I thought might be done by Union of the principal States of Greece; uch a Union as had been formed by You nd Themiſtocles, in oppoſition to the Perſians. To effect this was the great, he conſtant Aim of my Policy; and hough traverſed in it by many whom the

gold of Macedon had corrupted, and by Phocion, whom alone, of all the enemies to my Syſtem, I muſt acquit of Corruption, I ſo far ſucceeded, that I brought into the Field of Chæronea an Army equal to Philip's. The Event was unfortunate; but Ariſtides will not judge of the Merits of a Stateſman by the Accidents of War.

PHOCION.

Do not imagine, Ariſtides, that I was leſs deſirous than Demoſthenes to preſerve the Independence and Liberty of my Country. But, before I engaged the Athenians in a War *not abſolutely neceſſary*, I thought it proper to conſider what the Event of a Battle would probably be. That which I feared came to paſs: the Macedonians were victorious, and Athens was ruined.

DEMOSTHENES.

Would Athens not have been ruined if no Battle had been fought? Could You, Phocion, think it Safety, to have our Freedom depend on the Moderation of Philip?

Philip? And what had we elſe to protect us, if no Confederacy had been formed to reſiſt his Ambition?

PHOCION.

I ſaw no Wiſdom in accelerating the Downfall of my Country, by a raſh Activity in provoking the Reſentment of an Enemy, whoſe Arms, I foretold, would in the Iſſue prove ſuperior, not only to ours, but to thoſe of any Confederacy we were able to form. My Maxim was, that a State, which cannot make itſelf ſtronger than any of it's Neighbours, ſhould live in Friendſhip with that Power which is the ſtrongeſt. But, the more apparent it was, that our Strength was inferior to that of Macedon, the more you laboured to induce us, by all the Vehemence of your Oratory, to take ſuch Meaſures as tended to render Philip our Enemy, and exaſperate him more againſt Us than any other Nation. This I thought a raſh Conduct. It was not by Orations that the dangerous War you had kindled could finally be determined: nor did your Triumphs over me in an Aſſembly of the

People intimidate any Macedonian in the Field of Chæronea, or ſtop you yourſelf from flying out of that Field.

DEMOSTHENES.

My flight from thence, I muſt own, was ignominious to me; but it affects not the Queſtion we are agitating now, whether the Counſels I gave to the People of Athens, as a Stateſman and a Public Miniſter, were right or wrong. When firſt I excited them to make War againſt Philip, the Victories gained by Chabrias, in which you, Phocion, had a ſhare, particularly that of Naxos, which completely reſtored to us the Empire of the Sea, had enabled us to maintain, not only our own Liberty, but that of all Greece, in the Defence of which we had formerly acquired ſo much Glory, and which our Anceſtors thought ſo important to the Safety and Independence of Athens. Philip's Power was but beginning, and ſupported itſelf more by Craft than Force. I ſaw, and I warned my Countrymen, in due time, how impolitic it would be to ſuffer his Machinations to be carried on with

with ſucceſs, and his Strength to increaſe by continual Acquiſitions, without Reſiſtance. I expoſed the Weakneſs of that narrow, that ſhort-ſighted Policy, which looked no further than to our own immediate Borders, and imagined, that whatſoever lay out of thoſe Bounds was foreign to our Intereſts, and unworthy of our Care. The Force of my Remonſtrances rouzed the Athenians to a more vigilant Conduct. Then it was, that the Orators whom Philip had corrupted loudly inveighed againſt me, as alarming the People with imaginary Dangers, and drawing them into Quarrels, in which they had really no Concern. This Language, and the fair Profeſſions of Philip, who was perfectly ſkilled in *the Royal Art of Diſſembling*, were often ſo prevalent, that many favourable Opportunities of defeating his Deſigns were unhappily loſt. Yet ſometimes, by the Spirit, with which I animated the Athenians and other neighbouring States, I ſtopt the Progreſs of his Arms, and oppoſed to him ſuch Obſtacles, as coſt him much time and much Labour to remove. You yourſelf, Pho-

cion, at the Head of Fleets and Armies ſent againſt him by Decrees which I had propoſed, vanquiſhed his Troops in Eubæa, and ſaved from him Byſantium, with other Cities of our Allies on the Coaſts of the Helleſpont, from which you drove him with ſhame.

PHOCION.

The proper Uſe of thoſe Advantages was to ſecure a Peace to Athens, which they inclined him to keep. His Ambition was checked, but his Forces were not ſo much diminiſhed, as to render it ſafe to provoke him to further Hoſtilities.

DEMOSTHENES.

His Courage and Policy were indeed ſo ſuperior to our's, that, notwithſtanding his Defeats, he was ſoon in a Condition to purſue the great Plan of Conqueſt and Dominion, which he had formed long before, and from which he never deſiſted. Thus, through Indolence on our ſide, and Activity on his, Things were brought to ſuch a Criſis, that I ſaw no Hope of delivering

livering all Greece from his Yoke, but by confederating againſt him the Athenians and the Thebans; which League I effected. Was it not better to fight for the Independence of our Country in conjunction with Thebes than alone? Would a Battle loſt in Bæotia be ſo fatal to Athens, as one loſt in our own Territory, and under our own Walls.

PHOCION.

You may remember, that, when you were eagerly urging this Argument, I deſired you to conſider, not where we ſhould fight, but how we ſhould be Conquerors: for, if we were vanquiſhed, all Sorts of Evils and Dangers would be inſtantly at our Gates.

ARISTIDES.

Did not you tell me, Demoſthenes, when you began to ſpeak upon this Subject, that you brought into the Field of Chæronea an Army equal to Philip's?

DEMOS-

DEMOSTHENES.

I did, and believe that Phocion will not contradict me.

ARISTIDES.

But, though equal in Number, it was, perhaps, much inferior to the Macedonians in Valour and Military Diſcipline.

DEMOSTHENES.

The Courage ſhewn by our Army excited the Admiration of Philip himſelf, and their Diſcipline was inferior to none in Greece.

ARISTIDES.

What then occaſioned their Defeat?

DEMOSTHENES.

The bad Conduct of their Generals.

ARISTIDES.

Why was the Command not given to Phocion, whoſe Abilities had been proved

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on ſo many other Occaſions? Was it offered to him, and did he refuſe to accept it? You are ſilent, Demoſthenes. I underſtand your ſilence. You are unwilling to tell me, that, having the Power, by your Influence over the People, to confer the Command on what Athenian you pleaſed, you were induced, by the Spirit of Party, to lay aſide a great General, who had been always ſucceſsful, who had the chief confidence of your Troops and of your Allies, in order to give it to Men, zealous indeed for your Meaſures, and full of military Ardour, but of little Capacity or Experience in the Conduct of a War. You cannot plead, that, if Phocion had led your Troops againſt Philip, there was any Danger of his baſely betraying his Truſt. Phocion could not be a Traitor. You had ſeen him ſerve the Republic, and conquer for it in Wars, the undertaking of which he had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, in wars with Philip. How could you then be ſo negligent of the Safety of your Country, as not to employ him in this, the moſt dangerous of all ſhe ever had waged? If

Chares

Chares and Lyſicles, the two Generals you choſe to conduct it, had commanded the Græcian Forces at Marathon and Platæa, we ſhould have loſt thoſe Battles. All the Men whom you ſent to fight the Macedonians under ſuch Leaders, were Victims to the Animoſity between you and Phocion, which made you deprive them of the neceſſary Benefit of his wiſe Direction. This I think the worſt Blemiſh of your Adminiſtration. In other Parts of your Conduct I not only acquit, but greatly applaud and admire you. With the Sagacity of a moſt conſummate Stateſman you penetrated the deepeſt Deſigns of Philip; you ſaw all the Dangers which threatened Greece from that Quarter, while they were yet at a Diſtance; you exhorted your Countrymen to make a timely proviſion for their future Security; you ſpread the Alarm through all the neighbouring States; you combined the moſt powerful in a Confederacy with Athens; you carried the War *out of Attica*, which (let Phocion ſay what he will) was ſafer than meeting it *there*; you brought it, after all that had

had been done by the Enemy to ſtrengthen himſelf and weaken us, after the loſs of Amphipolis, Olynthus, and Potidæa, the Outguards of Athens; you brought it, I ſay, to the Deciſion of a Battle with equal Forces. When this could be effected, there was evidently nothing ſo deſperate in our Circumſtances, as to juſtify an Inaction, which might probably make them worſe, but could not make them better. Phocion thinks that a State, which cannot itſelf be the ſtrongeſt, ſhould live in Friendſhip with that Power which is the ſtrongeſt. But in my Opinion *ſuch Friendſhip* is no better than *Servitude*. It is more adviſeable to endeavour to ſupply what is wanting in our own ſtrength by a Conjunction with others who are equally in Danger. This Method of preventing the Ruin of our Country was tried by Demoſthenes. Nor yet did he neglect, by all practicable Means, to augment, at the ſame time, our internal Reſources. I have heard, that when he found the Public Treaſure exhauſted, he repleniſhed it, with very great Peril to himſelf, by bringing into

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it Money appropriated before to the Entertainment of the People, againſt the expreſs Prohibition of a popular Law, which made it Death to propoſe the Application thereof to any other Uſe. This was Virtue, this was *true and genuine Patriotiſm*. He owed all his Importance and Power in the State to the Favour of the People: yet, in order to ſerve the State, he did not fear, at the evident hazard of his Life, to offend their darling Paſſion, and appeal againſt it to their Reaſon.

PHOCION.

For this Action I praiſe him. It was indeed far more dangerous for a Miniſter at Athens to violate that abſurd and extravagant Law than any of thoſe of Solon. But, though he reſtored our Finances, he could not reſtore our loſt Virtue; he could not give that firm Health, that Vigour to the State, which is the Reſult of pure Morals, of ſtrict Order and civil Diſcipline, of Integrity in the Old, and Obedience in the Young. I therefore dreaded a Conflict with the ſolid Strength

Strength of Macedon, where Corruption had yet made but a very ſmall Progreſs, and was happy that Demoſthenes did not oblige me, againſt my own Inclination, to be the General of ſuch a People in ſuch War.

ARISTIDES.

I fear that your juſt Contempt of the greater number of thoſe who compoſed the Democracy, ſo diſguſted you with this Mode and Form of Government, that you were as averſe to ſerve under it, as others, with leſs Ability and Virtue than you, were deſirous of obtruding themſelves into it's Service. But, though ſuch a Reluctance proceeds from a very noble cauſe, and ſeems agreeable to the Dignity of a Great Mind in bad times, yet it is a Fault againſt the higheſt of Moral Obligations, the Love of our Country. For, how unworthy ſoever Individuals may be, the Public is always reſpectable, always dear to the Virtuous.

PHOCION.

True: but no Obligation can lie upon a Citizen to ſeek a public Charge, when he

he foreſees that his obtaining of it will be uſeleſs to his Country. Would you have had me ſollicit the Command of an Army which I believed would be beaten?

ARISTIDES.

It is not permitted to a State to deſpair of it's Safety, till it's utmoſt Efforts have been made without Succeſs. If you had commanded the Army at Chæronea, you might poſſibly have changed the Event of the Day: but, if you had not, you would have died more honourably there, than in a Priſon at Athens, betrayed by a vain Confidence in the inſecure Friendſhip of a perfidious Macedonian.

DIALOGUE

DIALOGUE IV.

MARCUS AURELIUS PHILOSOPHUS.

SERVIUS TULLIUS.

SERVIUS TULLIUS.

YES, Marcus, though I own you to have been the First of Mankind in Virtue and Goodneſs, though, while you governed, Philoſophy ſat on the Throne and diffuſed the benign Influences of her Adminiſtration over the whole Roman Empire, yet, *as a King*, I might, perhaps, pretend to a Merit even ſuperior to your's.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

That Philoſophy you aſcribe to me has taught me to feel my own Defects, and to venerate the Virtues of other Men. Tell me therefore, in what conſiſted the Superiority of your Merit *as a King*.

SERVIUS TULLIUS.

It conſiſted in This, *that I gave my People Freedom*. I diminiſhed, I limited the kingly Power, when it was placed in my Hands. I need not tell you, that the Plan of Government inſtituted by me was adopted by the Romans, when they had driven out Tarquin, the Deſtroyer of their Liberty; and gave it's Form to that Republic, compoſed of a due Mixture of the Regal, Ariſtocratical, and Democratical Powers, the Strength and Wiſdom of which ſubdued the World. Thus all the Glory of that great People, who for many Ages excelled the reſt of Mankind in the Arts of War and of Policy, belongs originally to me.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

There is much Truth in what you ſay. But would not the Romans have done better, if, after the Expulſion of Tarquin, they had veſted the Regal Power in *a limited Monarch*, inſtead of placing it in two annual elective Magiſtrates, with the Title of Conſuls? This was a great Deviation from your Plan of Government, and I think, an unwiſe one. For a *divided Royalty* is a Soleciſm, an Abſurdity in Politics. Nor was the Regal Power, committed to the Adminiſtration of Conſuls, continued in their Hands long enough, to enable them to finiſh any difficult War, or other Act of great moment. From hence aroſe a Neceſſity of prolonging their Commands beyond the legal Term; of ſhortening the interval preſcribed by the Laws between the Elections to thoſe Offices; and of granting extraordinary Commiſſions and Powers, by all which the Republic was in the End deſtroyed.

SERVIUS TULLIUS.

The Revolution which enſued upon the Death of Lucretia was made with ſo much Anger, that it is no wonder the Romans aboliſhed in their Fury the Name of King, and deſired to weaken a Power, the Exerciſe of which had been ſo grievous; though the doing this was attended with all the Inconveniencies you have juſtly obſerved. But, if Anger acted too violently in reforming Abuſes, Philoſophy might have wiſely corrected that Error. Marcus Aurelius might have new-modelled the Conſtitution of Rome. He might have made it *a limited Monarchy*, leaving to the Emperors all the Power that was neceſſary to govern a wide-extended Empire, and to the Senate and People all the Liberty that could be conſiſtent with Order and Obedience to Government; a Liberty purged of Faction and guarded againſt Anarchy.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

I ſhould have been happy indeed, if it had been in my Power to do ſuch

Good to my Country. But the Gods themſelves cannot force their Bleſſings on Men, who by their Vices are become incapable to receive them. Liberty, like Power, is only good for thoſe who poſſeſs it, when it is under the conſtant Direction of Virtue. No Laws can have Force enough to hinder it from degenerating into Faction and Anarchy, where the Morals of a Nation are deprayed; and continued Habits of Vice will eradicate the very Love of it out of the Hearts of a People. A Marcus Brutus, in my Time, could not have drawn to his Standard a ſingle Legion of Romans. But further, it is certain that *the Spirit of Liberty* is abſolutely incompatible with *the Spirit of Conqueſt*. To keep *great conquered Nations* in Subjection and Obedience, *great Standing Armies* are neceſſary. The Generals of thoſe Armies will not long remain Subjects; and whoever acquires Dominion by the Sword, muſt rule by the Sword. If he does not deſtroy Liberty, Liberty will deſtroy him.

SERVIUS TULLIUS.

Do you then juſtify Auguſtus for the Change he made in the Roman Government?

MARCUS AURELIUS.

I do not—for Auguſtus had no lawful Authority to make that Change. His Power was Uſurpation and Breach of Truſt. But the Government, which he ſeized with a violent hand, came to me by a *lawful* and *eſtabliſhed* Rule of Succeſſion.

SERVIUS TULLIUS.

Can any Length of *Eſtabliſhment* make Deſpotiſm *lawful?* Is not Liberty an inherent, inalienable Right of Mankind?

MARCUS AURELIUS.

They have an inherent Right to be governed by Laws, not by arbitrary Will. But Forms of Government may, and muſt, be occaſionally changed, with the conſent of the People. When I reigned over them

them the Romans were governed by Laws.

SERVIUS TULLIUS.

Yes, becauſe your Moderation, and the Precepts of that Philoſophy in which your Youth had been tutored, inclined you to make the Laws the Rules of your Government and the Bounds of your Power. But, if you had deſired to govern otherwiſe, had they Power to reſtrain you?

MARCUS AURELIUS.

They had not—The Imperial Authority in my time had no Limitations.

SERVIUS TULLIUS.

Rome therefore was in reality as much enſlaved under you as under your ſon; and you left him the Power of tyrannizing over it by hereditary Right.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

I did—and the concluſion of that Tyranny was his Murder.

SER-

DIALOGUE 50

SERVIUS TULLIUS.

Unhappy Father! unhappy King! what a deteſtable thing is Abſolute Monarchy, when even the Virtues of Marcus Aurelius could not hinder it from being deſtructive to his Family, and pernicious to his Country, any longer than the period of his own life. But how happy is that Kingdom, in which a *limited Monarch* preſides over a State *ſo juſtly poiſed*, that it guards itſelf from ſuch Evils, and has no need to take Refuge in Arbitrary Power againſt the Dangers of Anarchy, which is almoſt as bad a Reſource, as it would be for a Ship to run itſelf on a Rock, in order to eſcape from the Agitation of a Tempeſt.

FINIS.